

Message Text

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14-L12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 2632

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, CCD, FI, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS KEKKONEN PLAN

REF: (A) HELSINKI 1164

(B) STOCKHOLM 5450

1. THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF THE SWEDISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE (KEKKONEN PLAN) IS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE WRITTEN EARLY THIS YEAR BY ANDERS THUNBORG FOR THE FINNISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE ULKOPOLITIKKA. THUNBORG WAS FORMERLY THE UNDER MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND IS CURRENTLY SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE MFA AS WELL AS CHAIRMAN OF THE ROYAL DEFENSE COMMISSION STUDYING FUTURE SWEDISH DEFENSE POLICY. HE IS, THEREFORE CONFIDENTIAL

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PROBABLY THE BEST PLACED OFFICIAL IN THE GOS TO PRESENT SWEDISH VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION.

2. IN HIS ARTICLE, THUNBORG NOTES THAT WHILE NONE OF

THE NORDIC NATIONS CURRENTLY HAS NUCLEAR WEAPONS LOCATED ON ITS SOIL, "ON THE OTHER HAND THE RANGE OF MODERN WEAPONS MEANS THAT SCANDINAVIA CAN BE HIT WITH NUCLEAR DEVICES FROM ANY POINT ON EARTH." THUNBORG ASSERTS THAT IN CONTRAST TO THE EARLY 1960'S WHEN THE KEKKONEN PLAN WAS FIRST PROPOSED, THE SUPER POWERS ARE NO LONGER DEPENDENT UPON LAND BASES FOR THEIR MISSILES, "BUT NOW THANKS TO THE GREATER RANGE AND IMPROVED STEERING SYSTEMS, THE MISSILES CAN BE OPERATED FROM HOME BASES OR FROM OCEANS. EVEN THOUGH STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE HARDLY INTENDED FOR USE AGAINST TARGETS IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, THERE ARE NEVERTHELESS LARGE AREAS IN EUROPE THAT ARE CLOSE ENOUGH SO THAT SHORTER RANGE NUCLEAR DEVICES STATIONED THERE CAN BE A THREAT HERE." AS THUNBORG POINTS OUT, "IMMUNITY FOR TARGETS WITHIN THE ZONE AGAINST ATTACK BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS BASED OUTSIDE THE ZONE IS NOT AS ASSURED." THEREFORE, THUNBORG STRESSES, FOR THE KEKKONEN PLAN TO BE ACCEPTABLE IT WOULD REQUIRE (A) THE SUPPORT OF THE NUCLEAR POWERS AND (B) THE REMOVAL OF ALL MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS "STATIONED IN THE VICINITY OF THE ZONE FOR USE ORIGINALLY AGAINST TARGETS IN THAT ZONE," ADDING "THIS RELATES TO THE LAND AREAS EAST AND SOUTH OF THE ZONE AND THE WATERS WEST AND NORTH OF IT."

3. IN THEIR TALKS WITH US, THUNBORG AND OTHER SENIOR SWEDISH OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH SECURITY QUESTIONS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT BY INSISTING THAT ANY NUCLEAR FREE ZONE INCLUDE CONTIGUOUS AREAS OUTSIDE SCANDINAVIA SUCH AS THE KOLA PENINSULA, THEY ARE IN EFFECT INDICATING THAT THE KEKKONEN PLAN IS A NON-STARTER SINCE IT IS CONSIDERED OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD DISMANTLE THEIR MISSILE INSTALLATIONS IN THE AREA IN EXCHANGE FOR THE UNCERTAIN BENEFITS OF A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE. HOWEVER, AS NOTED EARLIER, THE SWEDISH LEADERSHIP IS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE AND SYMPATHETIC TO FINLAND'S PROBLEMS WITH ITS SUPER POWER
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NEIGHBOR, AND FOR THIS REASON THE SWEDES HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO PUBLICLY REJECT THE KEKKONEN PLAN LEST MATTERS BE MADE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE FINNS.

4. THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE OUR COMMENT MADE LAST DECEMBER IN RESPONSE TO EMBASSY HELSINKI'S REQUEST FOR OUR EVALUATION OF GOS ATTITUDE TOWARDS KEKKONEN PLAN REMAINS VALID (REF B). AS WE POINTED OUT THEN, "WHILE SWEDISH OFFICIALS ARE RELUCTANT TO REJECT CATEGORICALLY AND PUBLICLY FINNISH PROPOSALS FOR REVIVING THE KEKKONEN PLAN, THERE IS LITTLE SUPPORT WITHIN THE GOS FOR THE PLAN AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED (I.E., LIMITED TO SCANDINAVIA) SINCE IT WOULD NOT

AFFECT THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND
CENTRAL EUROPE." STRAUSZ-HUPE

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